

THE PROTESTANT EVANGELICAL AWAKENING

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CHAPTER I

The Protestant frame of mind in the eighteenth century

THE CIRCULATION OF INFORMATION: (I) LETTERS

This study of international religious revival in the Protestant world in the eighteenth century may without paradox commence with a postscript, perhaps the most breathless postscript of the century:

P.S. As to the churches in Germany, you'll inquire how their discipline is exercised, and particularly the discipline of the Lutheran churches, their worship and government; how the affair of the union between them and the Calvinists stands. All you please to send anent the present state of the Barnavelt and Arminian party and Cocceians in Holland, with the conditions of religion there, will be most acceptable. You will likewise be fond to know the present numbers of the confessors and new converts in France; and, if you have as much time, I would fain know the state and issue of that affair between the Cardinal Noailles and the Bishops who join him anent Father Quesnel's tenets, and the rest of the clergy in France who adhere to the Pope's Bull; and if there be any numbers in France that are in any way breathing after a reformation, as we hear there are. Anything anent the success of the Gospel in the Dutch and English plantations, in the East Indies and the Danish missionaries in Malabar; of the state of the Greek churches... May I expect anything anent the much forgotten Jews in Africa, Asia, or Europe? You'll inquire likewise into the design of sending over a suffragan Bishop to America, and the bearing down of our brethren of New England; and you will not forget to inquire into the efforts for spreading the Liturgy, and Ceremonies and Hierarchy, in the Protestant churches abroad.

The writer, Robert Wodrow, minister of the country parish of Eastwood near Glasgow, was not going to spare his correspondent, a brother minister of the Kirk, on the occasion of a visit to London. Should a friend venture to Leiden he became even more importunate, calling for a full report of the state of the Reformed churches in the Netherlands, Switzerland and the Empire; the state and organisation of the Lutheran churches; the condition of Protestantism in the

Palatinate, Savoy and the alpine valleys; in Silesia and Poland (including the state of Socinianism); in Hungary, Bohemia, Transylvania and Scandinavia. What did the Dutch think of the French prophets, and did they, as he understood, hold no witchcraft trials? Were their professors given to apocalyptic studies? What was the latest estimate of Francke's reputation and of the institutions at Halle? Wodrow, indeed, thought nothing odd about writing to Boston, Mass. for news of the health of an aged minister no further away than Glasgow.¹ Wodrow was unusual among contemporaries in having professional interests in recent ecclesiastical history, but he was in no way singular in believing that even for the standpoint of a narrow confessional interest the whole Protestant world mattered. For a generation organised international prayer had been pitted against persecution.

Wodrow's method of learning by letter was so widely followed, especially by the opponents of 'dead' Orthodoxy and 'formalism', as deeply to mark the history not only of the letter, but of religion itself. The movements of renewal and revival of the eighteenth century sought their legitimation in the hand of God in history; their characteristic achievement was not, like the Reformers of the sixteenth century, to offer a confession of faith for public discussion, but to accumulate archives which would support their understanding of history. Molinos, whose *Spiritual Guide* was read by all the evangelicals, was discovered by the Inquisition after his death in 1696 to have accumulated 20,000 letters. Bengel in Württemberg wrote about 1,200 a year. Francke had about 5,000 correspondents, and was in constant touch with three to four hundred. International archives, large to huge, were accumulated by all the leading religious figures of the age, by Spener and Turrentini, by Wake and Wesley, by Cotton Mather and Isaac Backus, by numerous Scots, and by the ecclesiastical machinery they created or used – the SPCK, for example, or the Classis of Amsterdam and Synod of North Holland. Where correspondence plumbed the wiles of the heart it strengthened the women who gathered round all the leading men of God; where it conveyed information and opinion it was used devotionally to raise the spirits of the faithful and lift their vision beyond the present trial;² and it gave the cue to diplomats who bought themselves confidential

¹ *Correspondence of the Rev. Robert Wodrow* ed. Thomas M'Crie (3 vols. Edinburgh, 1842–8) I: 614–15, 388–92; II: 10–11.

² Samuel Urlsperger, *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants who Settled in America* ed. G. F. Jones (6 vols. Athens, Ga., 1968–) I: 31; III: 71; IV: 101, 104.

correspondence for professional purposes. International letter-writing paid a toll to war and espionage. Heinrich Melchior Mühlberg, who kept in regular touch from America with his sponsors in Halle, normally sent two copies of his letters and kept a third in his journal; but in the Holy Roman Empire, at least, the efforts of the Baron von Taxis to beat down the resistance of Emperor and cities to his postal service made it easier to communicate by letter across frontiers. The sheer bulk of surviving correspondence shows how much was achieved and by what devious routes; Gotthilf August Francke, son of the great August Hermann, received news of the revival in New England from English sources via the German community in Pennsylvania, and friends of his late father in the Rhineland.³

THE CIRCULATION OF INFORMATION: (2) PERSONAL
CONTACTS AND THE PRESS

One of John Wesley's jobs as a chaplain and missionary in Georgia was to help with the postal difficulties of the Salzburgers. On their distant frontier of European civilisation he also grew wise to Central Europe. Wesley arrived in Georgia in February 1736 with favourable impressions of the Moravians. Among the first to greet him was August Gottlieb Spangenberg, then the head of the Moravian enterprise in Georgia, who instructed him further in their faith and practice. What Wesley may not have known was that the current phase of the revival in Europe was being given shape by an intense feud between the Franckean institutions at Halle, and Zinzendorf's Moravians. In this battle there were issues of principle, but also acute personal animosities centring at this stage on Spangenberg. Suspected of disloyal coquetting with separatists,⁴ Spangenberg had been abruptly dismissed from an academic half-appointment in Halle, and had thrown in his lot with Zinzendorf. Halle had dispatched two pastors to take spiritual charge of the Salzburgers, and from one of them Wesley received chapter and verse of that ill character of Spangenberg which (in the Halle view) was at the root of an international religious conflict in Central and Northern Europe.⁵

In its turn Wesley's early career contributed to the enlightenment

³ Theodor Wotschke, 'August Hermann Franckes rheinische Freunde in ihren Briefen', *MKRg* 23 (1929) 24, 26.

⁴ G. C. Knapp, *Beiträge zur Lebensgeschichte A. G. Spangenbergs* (1792) ed. O. Frick (Halle, 1884) 114-19.

⁵ Urlsperger, *Detailed Reports* IV: 143, 170, 117-19.

of Halle. At a very early stage, certainly by the summer of 1733,⁶ the younger Francke had received reports of what was afoot in Oxford, and the German community in London had sent translations of the first defence of that circle in print – *The Oxford Methodists* (London, 1733) – which was to have a longer run in Germany than in England. By 1740 Wesley was personally commending himself to Halle through German third parties.⁷ Long before this date, however, the interest in the Oxford Methodists aroused in private communications had spilled into print. Benjamin Ingham, who accompanied Wesley to Georgia, returned home in September 1737; already the first part of his Georgia diary had been published in translation in the journal now edited by the Protestant apostle to Silesia, Johann Adam Steinmetz.⁸ In 1739 the Württemberger Pietist and public lawyer Johann Jakob Moser published in his journal a favourable account of the Methodists received from Kensington (Ziegenhagen's address) and Steinmetz followed suit with a translation of the original edition of the *Oxford Methodists*. The editors of the fathomless Orthodox repositories of ecclesiastical knowledge maintained at Weimar and Leipzig must now compete. The *Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica*, which had a special concern for the Salzburger in Georgia, had reported the arrival of the Oxford circle by 1737, the dealings of the brothers Wesley with the Salzburger the following year, and in 1740 a large-scale account of the movement from its earliest days in Oxford, including all the material which had appeared in the Pietist publications. The even more strait-laced *Unschuldige Nachrichten* in two successive years reviewed the literary polemic stirred up by the new movement.⁹ By now the diplomats of Europe, aware that religious changes often had political results, had spoken to their masters. The French Foreign Ministry received two very full and well-informed accounts of the religious ferment in England, and, a little late in the day, the Senate and clergy of Hamburg received a formal report in the technical language of Orthodox theology, Latin, which gave pride of place to Whitefield, and in America, to the Tennents.

In the Habsburg lands the need to travel abroad for education enlarged clerical horizons and made the clergy exotic contacts.

⁶ SPK Francke Nachlasse K30 fos. 537–49; 30.2 fos. 770–1. ⁷ *Ibid.* 31.1 fo. 244.

⁸ *SMBRG* 6 (1737) 498–539. Steinmetz wrote personally to Wesley in 1741. Wesley, *Works* xxvi: *Letters* II: 49–51.

⁹ J. J. Moser, *Alles und Neues aus dem Reich Gottes...* (Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1733–9) 22:293–5; *SMBRG* 2 (1733) 700–18; *AHE* 2:405–24; 3:1087; 4:287–303, 727–824; *UN* 1740 'Früchte' 45–7; 1741 'Früchte' 74–5.

Slavonic peoples, and especially Slovaks, found Jena cheaper than Leipzig, and in the century and a half before the revolution of 1848, interrupted only by wartime, Jena contributed importantly to their development. If war restricted the movements of the Habsburgs' subjects, the Thirty Years War drove many Germans abroad, not least to the Netherlands and England. To Oxford in particular they continued to come right into the Hanoverian period; H. L. Benthem's 1,300-page guide to English educational institutions for discriminating German students was reprinted as late as 1732.¹⁰ At Halle there were not only an English table (1709) financed by Queen Anne and an English house (1711), but Czechs and Slovaks, Silesians and Poles, Wends and Sorbs, Hungarians of most varieties, Russians and South Slavs, Esths, Letts and Swedes; and they were student members of an institution dedicated to international regeneration, acclaimed as such by Jonathan Edwards in his *History of the Work of Redemption* (1739). Swiss theological students would go to Saumur as long as the authorities permitted, and pursued their studies in Heidelberg and Herborn, in Leiden, Franeker, Groningen and Utrecht; and those who went to the Netherlands normally took in England as well. Hungarian Lutherans depended very heavily on Wittenberg, where their countryman Cassai (1640–1725) had left an endowment, a house and a library for them; Hungarian Reformed repaired to the Netherlands, Switzerland and Oxford in that order of importance. The connexions formed during an international education might have a practical value; for all the time the pull of preferment and the push of persecution kept clergy on the move. Persecution in Hungary might lead them to Siebenbürgen (the modern Transylvania), Hamburg¹¹ or the galleys (and thence to Switzerland). Many Lutheran clergy in Poland in the early eighteenth century had taken refuge from Silesia and some were imported from Saxony. The first German Lutheran pastor in New York had been expelled from his parish in Upper Hungary by the Turks, and the first German Reformed minister in Pennsylvania had been turned out of his parish in Bern as a Pietist.¹² Virtually all the clergy

¹⁰ Paul Schaffhausen, *Commentatio historico-litteraria*... (Hamburg, 1743); H. L. Benthem, *Neu-eröffneter Engelandischer Kirch- und Schulen-staat*... (Leipzig, 1732). Cf. Georg Wilhelm Alberti, *Zustand der Religion und der Wissenschaften in Gross Britannien* (4 vols. Hanover, 1752–4).

¹¹ Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen* (2 vols. Hermannstadt, 1921–2) 1: 491; Johannes Borbis, *Die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche Ungarns in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Nördlingen, 1861) 92–3.

¹² Eduard Kneifel, *Die Pastoren der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche in Polen* (Eging, 1967); H. J. Kreider, *The Beginnings of Lutheranism in New York* (New York, 1949) 50, 63–4; *JPHS* 14 (1930) 28–31.

serving in America (outside New England) in the early eighteenth century were brought in from abroad, whether from England, Scotland, Ireland, Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands or Switzerland.

The demand for expatriate clergy was created by broader population movements, movements sometimes occasioned by religious persecution but also reflecting economic pressures and inducements, and defying the efforts of every state to hang on to its labour force. Losses of population in the Thirty Years War had attracted considerable net immigration to the northern Reich in the seventeenth century, some of it like the German and Czech migration from Bohemia into Saxony, the Defereggers who got into Swabia, Nuremberg and Frankfurt, or the Protestant Lorrainers who made off for Prussia in the late 1730s,¹³ the direct result of religious intolerance of the Habsburgs, the archbishop of Salzburg and Stanislas Leszczynski respectively; and the Prussian government, which took handsome advantage of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, continued to recruit systematically down the eighteenth century, picking up over 70,000 immigrants. Once the Turkish tide was rolled back there was an insatiable demand for German colonists, irrespective of confession, in Hungary, which took three times the number of immigrants to America, there was a steady leakage into Poland, and after the Seven Years War there were major settlements in Russia and Galicia.

Many settlers from the West also went east, but the recruiters for America operated so successfully that German settlers in the American colonies all tended to be called Palatines. Religion was prominent among the early motives for migration. Penn came on missions partly evangelistic and partly promotional for his new colony in Pennsylvania, concentrating his efforts in towns where there were Mennonite meetings and successfully recruiting among Mennonites for both Quakerism and Pennsylvania. But the first huge surge between 1709 and 1712 was clearly motivated mainly by famine, and immense numbers escaped famine to meet other disasters. Many never reached England; of those who did, many died in the camp at Blackheath, thousands of Catholics were sent back to Germany, and thousands of Protestants fetched up in Ireland. This emigration owed much to the overpopulation of Switzerland and the south-western territories of the Reich, but it owed something also to

¹³ J. G. Schelhorn, *Historische Nachricht vom Ursprunge...der evangelischen Religion in den Salzburgerischen Landen* (Leipzig, 1732) 348; *AHE* 5:160.

the misery produced by repeated brutal French aggression and by the religious policies of the new Catholic dynasty in the Palatinate towards their Reformed population. Men spiritually depressed were specially exposed to the blandishments of the recruiting agents who took their harvests after 1709 mostly in the intervals of the great transatlantic wars. Franz Daniel Pastorius, the collaborator of Spener, who took out the first party for Penn, founded Germantown, just outside Philadelphia, in 1683, and the migrants of 1709 who managed to reach that goal made it into a magnet for all the Germans who followed. Those who manipulated these population movements were knitting the world together; Oglethorpe, for example, who in the 1730s was anxious to acquire Salzburger, Germans and Swiss for the new colony of Georgia, had served under Prince Eugene in the brilliant Balkan campaign which led up to the Peace of Passarowitz (1718) and was familiar with the problems and techniques of Habsburg frontier settlement.

Thomasius, the fountain-head of the German Enlightenment, observing that persecution led to emigration, pronounced in 1688 that one of the causes of the decline of kingdoms was the power of the clergy; those seeking to make religious sense of the business turned to Exodus themes. Valentin Ernst Löscher, the latter-day spokesman of Saxon Orthodoxy, perplexed and moved by the great emigration of Protestant Salzburger in 1732, explained that¹⁴ 'the exodus of Israel from Egypt was a type of the emergence of the Christian church from heathenism and Judaism and the holy reformer Luther; there was also an anti-type or counter-picture; and the hunting out of the Salzburger is an after-picture (*Nachbild*)'. The spiritual verse of Protestant Silesia was full of 'Songs of comfort by pious exiles' and pilgrim hymns on the theme

Ein Wandersmann bin ich allhier
In dieser Welt auf Erden.

Wesley, who learned German by studying German hymns with the Moravians on the Atlantic passage, began to translate them on his arrival; Rothe's words 'Wird alles andre weggerissen, was seel und leib erquicken kan' were transformed into a clear Exodus reference: 'Though waves and storms go o'er my head', while Paul Gerhardt's metaphor of release from incarceration: 'Gott wird dich aus der höhle...mit groszen gnaden rücken' is similarly transposed:

¹⁴ Christian Thomasius, *Monatsgespräche* (4 vols. repr. Frankfurt, 1972) II: 474; Valentin Ernst Löscher, *Drey Predigten von der Erkenntnis und Ehre des Sohnes Gottes...* (Dresden, 1733) 32.

'Through waves and clouds and storms he gently clears thy way.'¹⁵ The Exodus metaphor was in vogue; it sharpened the perpetual dichotomy between religious experience and religious organisation, and fuelled American nationalism with a picture of England's 'rulers... madly rushing like Pharoah and his host, through a sea of blood, on their utter destruction'.

The migrations of European peoples enlarged minds by producing strange bed-fellows; both the migration and the enlargement were much facilitated by the striking growth of the European press, convincing readers that they were now more fully and rapidly informed about world events than any of their predecessors. The Strasbourg journal which commenced in 1609 with the title of *Furnemmen und gedenckwürdigen Historien so sich hin und wider in Hoch und Nieder Deutschland auch in Franckreich Italien Scott und Engelland Hisspanien Hungern Polen Siebenbürgen Wallachey Moldau Turckey etc.* set the pattern for innumerable successors, and by the end of the century the ordinary weekly press was supplemented by journals with titles like *Theatrum Europaeum*, *Diarium Europaeum*, *Europäische Fama*, *Europäischer Staatssekretarius*. The ordinary newspaper press was a cosmopolitan agency because so much of its material was cannibalised from other papers. The great information-gatherers were the French-language Dutch papers which exploited the relative freedom of information in the Netherlands, and the political network built up by the great Huguenot diaspora. British papers drew on them heavily, but adeptly used commercial sources in Hamburg and elsewhere to provide a reasonably comprehensive guide to the rise of Russia. The confessional issue in European diplomacy ensured that to English readers (what is now) Czechoslovakia was not a distant country of which they knew little; and in the later seventeenth century the European press made the labyrinthine struggles for religion and liberty in the much more distant kingdom of Hungary a matter of domestic relevance to English observers, calling upon them to abandon domestic brawls and come to its defence.¹⁶ Except in 1739 and 1740 when Whitefield hogged the limelight and most of the column-inches, the American papers were almost entirely composed of material taken from British and European sources. Thus in 1731-2, for example, the *Philadelphia American Weekly Mercury* did well on the

¹⁵ 'Here on earth I am a pilgrim'. J. Mutzell, *Geistliche Lieder... aus Schlesien...* (Braunschweig, 1858) 68-71, 7, 165; J. Nuelsen, *John Wesley and the German Hymn* (Eng. tr. Calverley, 1972) 24, 60-1, 129-130.

¹⁶ Béla Köpeczi, *Staatsräson und christlicher Solidarität. Die ungarischen Aufstände und Europa...* (Vienna, 1983) 274 n. 61.

negotiations over the Pragmatic Sanction, and on the Protestant flight from Salzburg. And in every country the regular press was supplemented by broadsheets without number whenever events took an exciting turn.

Men of faith read the ordinary press and wrote for it on newsworthy subjects. When Christoph Martin Wieland was studying with Steinmetz, the Protestant apostle to Silesia, he learned classical languages and philosophy, but also read the English weeklies, the *Spectator*, the *Tatler* and *The Guardian*, which were as popular in Germany as in England.¹⁷ Wesley was Georgia correspondent to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, while Jonathan Edwards in 1745 sent a full military report on the Cape Breton expedition to the *Glasgow Christian Monthly History*. Before the end of the seventeenth century the great international repositories of scholarship, literature and discussion were in circulation, the Paris *Journal des savants* (from 1665), the Leipzig *Acta Eruditorum* (from 1682), the English *History of the Works of the Learned* (1699 to 1712) and the Amsterdam *Nouvelles de la république des lettres* (from 1684). Lutheran Orthodoxy could do no less and gave rise to the Leipzig *Unschuldige Nachrichten* (Wittenberg, 1701; transferred to Leipzig the following year) and the still more valuable *Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica* (Weimar from 1735).

There was a Christian demand for news for less familiar purposes. Much chiliastic steam remained in parts of the Protestant system, and all who believed that they lived in the end-time required accurate news of events which might portend the ultimate denouement. Whatever their scheme of interpretation, all understood that the final consummation would not take place in a corner. Spener and many of those close to religious revival did not expect an instant eschaton, but still wished to interpret the signs of the times. Jerichow and Steinmetz used their journal to report the current progress of the kingdom of God, a service which the Scots evangelical minister John Gillies developed into a modern Acts of the Apostles. To Johann Jakob Moser this kind of journalism even offered an antepast of heaven, since 'no small part of the eternal bliss among the elect will be the discussion and praise of the leadings of God'. Conversion too needed to be documented, it being 'not a question only of a *raptus* or *paroxysmus*, since splenetic or melancholic people may imagine something of that sort for a time'. Men of this turn of mind were bound to report their news on an international and interconfessional

¹⁷ J. G. Gruber, *Wielands Leben* (Leipzig, 1827) in *C. M. Wielands Sämtliche Werke* 1:26.

basis; convinced 'that from the times of Luther ... no single witness of the truth arose who did not witness against this ... abomination of Protestant Orthodoxy, and ... suffered all manner of hardship from carnal teachers', they needed every evidence for the prosecution.¹⁸

TRANSLATION; THE PRESTIGE OF BRITISH RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

The meeting of minds took place on many levels, not least those of commercial and technological interchange. Science also created its own community independent of nation or confession. And the religious world profited from more general cultural changes. The ability to translate had been steadily moving north since the Renaissance. The Italians were the first to provide Latin versions of Greek texts; the French to render Latin into the vernacular. They were followed by the Germans, English and Dutch. As vernacular practice improved, translation began among the various vernacular tongues on a more or less equal basis.

These developments left their mark in the world of religion. No one was more hostile to the scholastic Latin of Protestant Orthodoxy than the Pietists, yet Spener at once put his programmatic writing, the *Heartfelt Desires* (1685), into Latin for international discussion, and Francke, who encountered Molinos just before his conversion, contributed to the spread of Spanish mysticism in central Europe by translating two of his tracts from Italian into Latin. It was the eighteenth century before the English of German theologians was equal to any great amount of translation from the English direct, but they took on board a great deal of English work at second hand, from Latin, French and Dutch.¹⁹ By the early eighteenth century the Dutch occupied the central position in the world of vernacular translation they had assumed in the dissemination of news. In the Netherlands it was confidently maintained 'that the English nation surpasses other nations in the speculative knowledge of theology (oh, that they were so happy in the practice thereof)'.²⁰ Great quantities of Puritan literature (followed later by belles-lettres) found their way into Dutch, often *en route* for other languages such as German,

¹⁸ *SMBRG*; J. Gillies, *Historical Collections Relating to Remarkable Periods of the Success of the Gospel...* (4 vols. Glasgow, 1754-86); *Altes und Neues* 1:12-13; J. S. Carl, *Geistliche Fama* (n.pl. 1733-43) 22:37.

¹⁹ Udo Sträter, *Sonthom, Bayly, Dyle und Hall. Studien zur Rezeption der englischen Erbauungsliteratur in Deutschland* (Tübingen, 1987) 25-35.

²⁰ C. W. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind* (Leiden, 1983) 70.

Swedish and Hungarian.²¹ The popularity of English theology in the Netherlands considerably exceeded what some English spokesmen considered decent, Bishop Thomas Sprat complaining that 'our famous divines have been innumerable, as the Dutch men may witness, who, in some of their theological treatises, have been as bold with the English sermons as with our fishing; and their robberies have been so manifest that our Church ought to have reprizals against them, as well as our merchants'.²² The plagiarism continues to provide employment for modern literary detectives, and the translation went on right into the age of latitudinarianism.

In Protestant Europe generally English theology and devotional works enjoyed a prestige which has not come their way in the last two centuries for two quite different reasons. The period c. 1650–c. 1750, from, say, Descartes's *Les Passions de l'âme* (1649) to Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), was a golden age in the history of moral philosophy, and one in which concern for the study of the passions and their influence on behaviour ran very close to the interests of those, Catholic and Protestant, who were concerned to jack up the general level of religious devotion. And from the time when Hobbes had insisted on direct observation without preconceptions British moralists had been of the first importance.²³ British literature, religious and secular, also benefited from British political and social prestige. When Sigmund Jacob Baumgarten came, in the mid eighteenth century, to apply historical criteria to theological studies, he created a whole translation factory to put works of British history into German dress, all because British liberty had produced a nation of characters larger than life, who 'yield more notable examples of the most glorious virtues or most shameful vices, of the exceptional use and misuse of unusual capabilities and advantageous opportunities and of the most rapid and unexpected changes of good and ill fortune than other nations'.²⁴

Baumgarten's list of heroic Englishmen, from Cromwell to Baxter and Marlborough, had been anticipated half a century earlier in Reitz's Pietist history of the regenerate which featured England

²¹ J. van der Haar, *From Abbadie to Young...* (Veenendaal, 1980); *The Role of Periodicals in the Eighteenth Century* ed. J. A. van Doorsten (Leiden, 1984); Bengt Hellekant, *Engelsk Uppbyggelselitteratur I Svensk Översättning Intill 1700 Talets Mitt* (Stockholm, 1944) 287–8.

²² Thomas Sprat, *Observations on Monsieur Sorbière's Voyage into England* (Oxford, 1665) 270–1.

²³ N. Fiering, *Jonathan Edward's Moral Thought in its British Context* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981) 5; and, more generally, his *Moral Philosophy at Seventeenth-Century Harvard* (Chapel Hill, 1981).

²⁴ S. J. Baumgarten, *Samlung von merkwürdigen Lebensbeschreibungen grössten Theils aus der britanischen Biographien übersetzt...* (4 vols. Halle, 1754–7) 1: Preface.

strongly in the succession of saints from Edward VI and Lady Jane Grey to Baxter and Bunyan.²⁵ Bunyan was already a hero in Protestant Germany within a decade of his death in 1688. *Pilgrim's Progress* was translated in 1685 and followed by a series of other works done into German from either English or Dutch versions. He was among the authors prescribed for reading in the Halle Orphan House on Sundays when there were no public prayers, and he received the radical accolade of a life and bibliographical notice in Gottfried Arnold's *Leben der Gläubigen* (1701). But Bunyan was only the last of a line of Puritan writers who had flooded into Germany on their merits long before British constitutional prestige or moral philosophy could affect the issue. Edgar Mackenzie has calculated that between 1600 and 1750 nearly 700 English religious works, most of them devotional in character, were translated into German and ran to about 1,700 editions and impressions. Some were very large business indeed. Lewis Bayley's *Practice of Piety*, which flew the Puritan flag everywhere, went through at least 68 editions, Joseph Hall's *Arte of Divine Meditation* at least 61 in that period, 30 of Baxter's works were translated.²⁶ The first port of entry into the Protestant Empire was Switzerland, Bayley being translated into French in Geneva, thence into German in Basel, speedily followed by other editions in the Reformed towns of Zurich and Bremen. In 1631 a Lüneburg edition was produced by one of the two great Lutheran devotional presses, and after that they never let it get out of print. It was a similar success story with the *Gulden Kleinodt der Kinder Gottes* of Emanuel Sonthomb, the anagram for E. Thompson, a member of the Merchant Adventurers of England living in Stade in the early sixteenth century. Another English author very fully received in Lutheran Orthodoxy was Joseph Hall. Nowhere was the penetration deeper than in Strasbourg, where the reception of Johann Arndt and of the English Puritans formed the immediate background to the rise of Spener. English sermons were equally in demand, most of all Stillingfleet, Tillotson and Watts. The Lutheran Orthodox differed as to the number of preaching methods, there being advocates for two, four and a hundred; of course the vogue of the English pulpit necessitated a recommended text-book on the *Engellische Prediger-Methode*.²⁷

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²⁵ J. H. Reitz, *Historie der Wiedergeborenen...* (5th edn Berleburg, 1724).

²⁶ Edgar C. Mackenzie, 'British Devotional Literature and the Rise of German Pietism' (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of St Andrews, 1984).

²⁷ Martin Schian, *Orthodoxie und Pietismus im Kampf um die Predigt* (Giessen, 1912) 14, 132-4.